

after the riot, rumors ran rampant that trouble was brewing at other townships in the county where blacks were attempting to extract revenge. As a result, armed patrols kept up their vigils, assisted by the influx of State Guard troops. On the evening of the eleventh, new mayor Alfred Moore Waddell personally met with armed citizens in the streets and encouraged them to go home. Waddell then had a picket line established by the military along the city's northern perimeter. The next day, November 12, out-of-town military units were withdrawn, leaving the city under full control of municipal leaders backed by the local troops of the Wilmington Light Infantry, who discontinued service on the fourteenth.⁴

The transfer of control of the city's affairs to the hands of the new mayor and Board of Alderman effectively took place on the afternoon of the tenth, but it was clear that the men who drove the Democratic campaign and coup d'état still directed activity in the city. An article in the *Messenger* five days after the riot claimed "it was all planned in advance," and the "citizens committee is all-powerful still, and while outwardly it is taking little part in affairs, in reality it is standing squarely behind Mayor Waddell and will continue to

do so." The writer even hinted that the violence attributed to the Red Shirts and Rough Riders was part of the larger plan—"As long as they were sober the 'rough riders' could be controlled easily enough, but had they had access to an unlimited amount of liquor there would have been many more bodies for the coroner's jury." The article related that the reporter had been told in confidence by Democratic Party leaders that "they never intended to resort to force save as a last expedient." The men confided in the reporter that violence during the voting process would have "given the negroes strong grounds upon which to have contested Bellamy's election." The article concluded that the machinations of the white leaders sounded very "cold-blooded" but that their plans were "grounded in mighty good horse sense" given the state of affairs in the city.⁵

Banishment Campaign

The banishment campaign started on the afternoon of the riot as African American and white leaders were arrested according to the dictates of the Secret Nine. The men selected for banishment fell into several different categories. First, were the African American leaders who were vocal supporters of full participation in government by blacks and open opponents of the white supremacy campaign. Second were African American businessmen and entrepreneurs whose financial successes were galling to the white upper and working classes. Third were white Republicans who benefited from African American voting support. The initial targets were logically

A.M. The Fayetteville Light Infantry was the first to arrive in the afternoon of the riot and brought 86 men to the city. Hayden, *WLI*, 95-7; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 11-14, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11-12, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11-12, 1898.

⁴ Waddell penned thanks to the military on behalf of the city's citizens for their "prompt and efficient services." Colonel Taylor then responded with a message of thanks to the city's residents who assisted with providing for the needs of the military. Governor Daniel Russell had informed Taylor that he could keep the troops on active duty in the city as long as necessary. However, Wilmington leaders sought to return to normalcy as soon as possible. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13-14, 1898.

⁵ Despite attempts by Democrats to safeguard the polls, the validity of Bellamy's election was contested by his opponent, Oliver Dockery. The court proceedings, which took place in 1899, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898.